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## FROM MERE SURVIVAL TO NEAR SUCCESS:

### *Women's Economic Strategies in Early Modern Portugal*

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*This article looks at the varied ways in which women in early modern Portugal dealt with regulation of their trades. Using archival sources from sixteenth- and seventeenth-century municipal collections that cover the area from Aveiro to Porto in northern Portugal, the present study shows that women did not always allow city ordinances to go unchallenged. In fact, evidence suggests that many women were prone to transgress or circumvent local laws to maximize their profits. Although the records only refer to those caught by municipal officials, the great number of infractions recorded in municipal books on an almost weekly basis reveals that the market woman of early modern Portugal—the regateira—proved more troublesome to local authorities than historians have acknowledged in the past.*

As was the case in most of Western Europe, women in early modern Portugal rarely obtained positions of public authority. Portuguese women did not, for instance, hold office in town or city councils, the government bodies whose decisions most directly affected the early modern urban population's daily lives. A select number of men made the official decisions, yet the application of their decrees was often a troublesome exercise. In matters of regulating the local economy, officials could not count on strict adherence to or general acceptance of their policies. As workers and consumers significant to the local economy, women were at the forefront of the often contentious relationship between the governor and the governed. Municipal records indicate, in fact, that although Portuguese women were excluded from officialdom, they were rarely intimidated by it.

Intimidation, in certain instances, propelled women to higher levels of confrontation. One such example is the case of Maria Rois, a cod merchant from mid-seventeenth-century Porto.<sup>1</sup> In 1648, she took Porto's town officials to court in Lisbon over a cargo of 943 quintals of cod that William Grim, English master of the ship called *Hope*, had brought into Porto from Newfoundland.<sup>2</sup> Rois had had a contract with the city to merchandise a portion of this cod, but officials canceled her contract after they received another merchant's higher bid. After several rounds of talks in Porto failed to resolve the problem, Rois proceeded to the capital city's high court, and on 17 August 1648, the court ruled in her favor.<sup>3</sup> Although the transaction between town officials and Manoel Rois Hisidro, the competing merchant,

had been formalized and entered in customs books, a subsequent note written in the margin indicates that Rois had won the contract.<sup>4</sup>

Rois was not a typical seventeenth-century woman, in the Portuguese context or elsewhere. Little is known about her personal life—nothing on her marital status or family connections has been uncovered—but official documents suggest that she was a prominent wholesale cod merchant. Customs books show her dealing with large fish cargoes during her forty-year career between 1639 and 1679. In her 1648 legal challenge, she had dealt with 10 percent of the cargo, or just over 94 quintals of cod. But on a couple of occasions, the entire cargo of fish arrived under her name, including a shipment of 680 quintals of cod in 1658, worth approximately 1,822,400 réis (£860).<sup>5</sup> For mid-seventeenth-century Europe, this was a substantial volume for any merchant, male or female.

If Rois's business was atypical, so was her battle with Porto's city council. The majority of disputes recorded in municipal records involved merchants at the retail level, petty traders who hawked everything from wafers for the Eucharist to milk and eggs from neighboring farmers. In those cases, we get a glimpse of the constant struggle between authorities wanting to maintain certain standards and small-scale dealers trying to eke out a living, reflecting Portugal's heavily regulated local economy. Officials were especially concerned with inadequate and inaccessible food supplies, and thus regulations in the food business were more exacting than in other sectors.<sup>6</sup> These in turn affected women in particular because, like elsewhere in Europe, more women than men worked in the provisioning business.<sup>7</sup>

Portuguese historians have long appreciated the vast and rich information that can be extracted from municipal records. Although some early studies provided invaluable economic synthesis and analysis, their authors generally neglected the role of women in Portugal's early modern economy—a particularly curious omission given the conspicuous presence of women in municipal records.<sup>8</sup> It is this imbalance in Portuguese socioeconomic history that this article attempts to redress through an examination of women's strategies to protect and enhance their economic interests. Neither victim nor heroine, Portugal's market woman was a force with which to reckon, an integral part of local economies, who often infuriated the general public and local authorities. This article shows that while municipal officials were relentless in their attempts to control the local market, market women were equally persistent in circumventing officialdom to safeguard their livelihoods.

Research for this study was conducted in a number of towns in northern Portugal, from Aveiro to Ponte de Lima (see map). Such a geographical focus corresponds to the high concentration of the Portuguese



Courtesy of the Department of Geography, University of Winnipeg

population in this region in the early modern period. Although Lisbon has always been the largest urban center in Portugal, a 1527 census indicates that northern Portugal was demographically more populous as well as agriculturally more productive than the south.<sup>9</sup> Area officials have maintained numerous municipal and district archives containing a large scope of documents dealing with local economies—the local economies in which most Portuguese urban women were engaged in the early modern period.

Municipal council records are a rich source of information on the mechanisms of the urban economy. Tradespeople had to obtain a license and make a public pledge to adhere to regulations; everyone who wanted to run a shop or inn, lease a spot in the marketplace or sell goods from home, or transport products outside city limits or import them, had to deal with the local government. Municipal officials apprehended and disciplined anyone caught breaking the rules. Books kept by town officials do not always reveal the names of individuals involved or the nature of the matter in question, but often they do. The information provided does not present a complete picture of commercial and financial transactions in an urban center, let alone a comprehensive depiction of a society in a certain region. Municipal records bear witness, however, to a good segment of the local economy. As part of this urban economy, women retail license holders and retail license violators figure prominently. Motives for their transgressions are difficult to discern, but economic survival was certainly one of them. Many women succeeded in being heard, if not listened to in many cases.

Market women have long had a colorful reputation in the history of early modern Europe. In her work on women in early modern Germany, for instance, historian Merry E. Wiesner found ample evidence that female vendors were not a subdued and defenseless lot. Not every market woman transgressed local norms and regulations, but records reveal that a number of them did and did so often. Violations ranged from verbally abusing authorities to the more extreme cases exemplified by Anna Weyland of Strasbourg. Found guilty of a number of infractions in 1573, Weyland's response to city officials was that she "would not obey any ordinance, no matter what in God's name the council made for an ordinance." Although Strasbourg officials finally curtailed Weyland's illegal activities and forbade her from selling anything, she was cause for concern for several more years.<sup>10</sup>

The situation was similar in early modern Portugal. The notoriety of the *regateira* (market woman) was marked by strict vigilance at the marketplace and inspired dramatists to immortalize them in a number of sixteenth-century plays.<sup>11</sup> References to the *regateira* are common in municipal records, and apparently they were not a popular group in early modern Portugal, at least not among town officials. Modern meanings associated with the term include "shrew, quarrelsome rude woman, [and] wicked tongue."<sup>12</sup> Portuguese historian Iria Gonçalves's study of mid-fifteenth-century Porto has confirmed this negative view of the *regateira*. His findings include a reference to revenues from fines collected from *das bravas*—women who were verbally aggressive—with a specific example of a woman fish peddler fined for harassing and abusing an official.<sup>13</sup>



Some Portuguese historians have examined the *regateira*, but there has been no consensus on women's roles in the early modern economy. One study found that Portuguese elites attributed little honor to work and that this was especially true for women's work. The less a woman had to do, Portuguese historian Aurélio de Oliveira has concluded, the more revered she was by society.<sup>14</sup> If that were true, then society revered very few women. Another study, set in seventeenth-century Coimbra, shows many women in retail commerce who provided the town with such basic necessities as bread, oil, fish, fruit, and wine.<sup>15</sup> Women in Evora, Lisbon, and Porto in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries were likewise prevalent in retail.<sup>16</sup> Women's concentration in retail sales also occurred in early modern Spain. Using a combination of municipal and notarial records, Spanish historians María Asenjo Gonzalez, Antonio Domínguez Ortiz, and Montserrat Carbonell Esteller, among many others, have revealed a dominant presence of Spanish women in local trade.<sup>17</sup> While these studies outline the various occupations early modern Iberian women held, they pay little attention to the ways in which women survived and resisted encroachments on their livelihoods—livelihoods that were, generally speaking, poorly remunerated and highly regulated.<sup>18</sup>

### Male Officialdom and Female Resistance

Municipal records in a number of towns in Portugal suggest that the retail business world was heavily segregated by sex. The baker, for example, often appeared in the female form, *padeira*, an indication that women dominated this trade, a remarkable notation since in some parts of Europe a woman could become a baker only by marrying one.<sup>19</sup> Female bakers were responsible for ensuring that there was enough bread to supply the town, and towns regulated the number of bakers necessary to meet local needs. Thus, in Porto in 1483, there were twenty-four bakers, all women, among whom were three widows, six married women, four single women, and eleven women whose marital status was not specified.<sup>20</sup> This dominance of the craft by women was still true two centuries later in Ponte de Lima. On 24 and 27 January 1685, the Ponte de Lima town council named the following bakers to provide bread for the entire year: Joana Ferreira, Paula Fernandes, Francisca Gomes, Maria da Cunha, Maria Ferreira, Madalena Carvalha, Maria Rebela, Angela Fernandes, Margarida Soares, Joana Rebela, Benta Dantas, Maria Filgueira, and Ana Lopes, all women.<sup>21</sup> The customary dominance of Portuguese women in the baking trades was also adopted in colonial Brazil, where local authorities dealt with their share of obstinate women bakers.<sup>22</sup> Bakers enjoyed some prominence in early modern Portugal as well, for not only was bread an essential prod-

uct in the nation's diet, but it also had a sacred nature. Thus the town of Loulé conceded to a widow of one of its officials, *que foy molher rica e onrada* (who was a rich and honorable woman), the privilege of being the town's baker of white bread.<sup>23</sup>

Baking bread was only one of many of the middling trades women dominated. During three council sessions in the last week of January 1580 in Aveiro, for instance, a number of bakers, vendors, oven keepers, sardine counters, and measurers of salt pledged to properly fulfill their duties. Of the 123 names listed under the first four trades, only one was male, and even he was placed under the feminine category of *padeiras e vendeiras* (bakers and vendors), although the masculine form of *vendeiro* was written next to his name. That there was a form of sex segregation in some trades is evident in this 1580 council document: the fifteen registered measurers of salt were all male.<sup>24</sup> Evidence from Ponte de Lima in 1685 likewise demonstrates sex segregation, as ten retailers pledged to sell sardines, fresh fish, and cod for the entire year, and all were women.<sup>25</sup>

Depending on the trade or service offered, entrepreneurs were obliged to make a public pledge to the city council on an annual basis, or sometimes for shorter periods. The pledge involved a form of promise that, in return for a license to practice a trade, the individual guaranteed an adequate supply of the product or service essential to the local economy. This guarantee was especially crucial in the food provisioning business, and town officials took these pledges seriously. When market woman Ilena Piriz approached Braga's town council on 5 February 1569, her special request was granted but not without conditions. Piriz told the council that as an old widow in poor health she could no longer sell wine or anything else as she had done in the past. She thus petitioned council members to allow her to discontinue her trade and close up her shop, as well as not to charge her additional taxes as a *vinhateira* (wine dealer). Braga's town council agreed to free Piriz of her obligations, but warned her that if thereafter she was found selling wine or anything else she would be subject to a fine of 20 *cruzados* (approximately 8,000 *réis*).<sup>26</sup>

Municipal records that survived from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries show the extent to which these contracts between town officials and tradespeople were problematic. Disputes between authorities and retailers, for example, appear frequently enough to suggest that not all pledges were made in good faith or that the terms of the contract were not always feasible. Contracts with municipal governments included the obligatory adherence to the council's regulations of prices, weights and measures, places of operation, quantity and quality of product, and the length of tenure. The stated reasons for vigilance and intervention by authorities were always connected with protecting consumers from fraudu-

lent practices of unscrupulous retailers and tradespeople. For their part, license holders had to make a living, and some were ingenious in finding ways to augment their profits, either for greed or survival.

Market women's resistance is worthy of serious consideration because, among many things, it reveals women's agency in a male-regulated world that denied women direct control over economic matters. Indirectly, however, women took steps that shaped their lives, sometimes even when the odds were solidly stacked against them. As these records show, women were seldom passive or hapless bystanders. For example, town officials in Braga arrested the unnamed wife of Joam Fernandes of Rua de Sam Marcos in 1561. Apparently she had been quarantined outside city limits to combat an outbreak of an unspecified contagious disease. She also had been prohibited from baking bread, or else face a fine of 2,000 *réis*, but despite this warning she disobeyed the town's order. The fine was a substantial amount of money, equal to one year's wages for a domestic servant in Lisbon in the mid-sixteenth century.<sup>27</sup>

The evidence against the arrested woman included witness reports from Catarina Diaz and Ines Gonçalves, who confessed to having sold bread from this contaminated woman, and also admitted to having some of the bread stored in their homes. Diaz and Gonçalves claimed that they had been unaware of the prohibition, and then they named two other women, Ana Afonso and Isabel Alvarez, who had also dealt with bread from the same source. The town ordered Diaz and Gonçalves not to sell any more bread baked by Fernandes's wife, or face fines of 2,000 *réis* and a prison term.

When asked whether they had sold bread baked by the wife of Fernandes, Alvarez and Afonso said that they had sold some that month, both promising never to do it again. They, too, originally claimed that they were unaware of the ban on her bread, then confessed to having had some knowledge of the ban, but that the unnamed woman had told them that she was allowed to bake bread outside city limits. Given this admission by Afonso and Alvarez, they were imprisoned for four hours and fined 100 *réis* each. With such overwhelming evidence against Fernandes's wife, she, too, was imprisoned.<sup>28</sup>

Several observations can be made from the record of a municipal council meeting that took place on 8 February 1561. The most obvious point is linked to an omission: the accused was never named, even though there were eight references to the accused as "the wife of Joam Fernandes." The record keeper noted that Fernandes was a turner, but the occupation of the accused was never mentioned—although it can be inferred that she was a baker since she was banned from baking bread. It is not clear why the documents never identified the accused by her proper name or occu-

pation. It is not uncommon to find records that fail to provide women's names in Western Europe, but generally in early modern Portugal bakers as well as other retailers did not lose their identity in town records.<sup>29</sup> Record keepers usually referred to married women by their names, followed by that of their husbands. Sometimes the woman's name was used to identify the man.<sup>30</sup> The recorder passed up multiple opportunities to document her name, an absence that appears to have been calculated and intentional. Perhaps Fernandes was deemed responsible for his wife's crime, or perhaps he was better known in the community. The persistent reference to his name might have been a deliberate attempt to humiliate Fernandes, but the absence of his wife's identity might also reveal the official attitude toward her. As a suspected infected person, authorities probably treated her with suspicion and derision, especially after she challenged them.

The omission of the accused's individual identity is nevertheless puzzling, considering that all four witnesses and accomplices, also women, were identified. The records indicate that Diaz was married to Geraldo Vaz, merchant of *da porta de Sousa*; Gonçalves sold bread in the square; Afonso was connected to *da porta do Souto*, either as her residence or place of business; and Alvarez was a single woman from a district called *dos chaões*, and she was also noted as having a quarrel with the wife of Fernandes.<sup>31</sup> These women's roles were less critical than that of the wife of Fernandes, yet the records provided more information about them. Although the case offers intriguing tidbits about women's roles in the local economy and their struggles within it, the document's unanswered and unanswerable questions raise problems as well. It is clear that municipal officials relied on citizens to inform on one another—as Diaz and Gonçalves did on Afonso and Alvarez—and even on the confessions of the accused, but there is no indication of how they extracted confessions. All that we know is that Afonso and Alvarez first denied any knowledge of the prohibition against the quarantined woman, but later admitted to partial knowledge. The limits of municipal council records are especially acute here.

Despite these limitations, other observations can be extracted from this case, testifying to some of the intricacies of early modern Portugal's economic and gendered conflicts. On the one hand, municipal officials had wide-ranging powers, including judicial jurisdiction to apprehend, fine, and incarcerate people—contrary to what is known about early modern England, for instance, where a separate court system prevailed in such matters. On the other hand, the citizens of Braga were not unlike citizens elsewhere in Europe in their attempts to circumvent local authority. The wife of Fernandes continued to bake bread despite her quarantined status, undoubtedly because that was her means of making a living. By do-



ing so, this woman whose name has not survived must have believed that it was worth the risk, perhaps because she knew that she could find vendors for her bread. The record provides no explanation of the grounds for her quarantine, nor does it document any visible signs of her alleged contamination. Suspicion alone could have been grounds for town officials to act, but it was not enough to stop her. She may have not believed that she was contaminated, that she could harm others through her baking, or she did not care. The other four women involved also acted carelessly, especially the two who knowingly bought the prohibited bread, stored it in their homes, and resold it. Afonso and Alvarez were, at the very least, guilty of ignoring a potential health risk or challenging local authority, or both.

This case shows that directives from above did not always easily contain the average citizen in early modern Portugal. In fact, this incident of 1561 evidently did not eliminate the dangers associated with bread making and contagion. Despite the considerable gaps in Braga's council meeting records that survived from the sixteenth century, records reveal that another bread making controversy arose on 3 July 1566. At that meeting, officials discussed the necessary precautions to be taken in making and selling bread, including the stipulation that bread had to be wrapped in clean covers, and that bakers and other people involved in the trade could not continue to work with bread if they were sick with contagious illnesses, an offense punishable with fines of 2,000 réis. What sparked this discussion was information that some bakers had placed their loaves on their bedding to rise.<sup>32</sup>

Official wrath was especially severe in the battle against the plague, as the case of the wife of Fernandes illustrates. Swift and stiff penalties were levied against those who tried to bypass town regulations. On 19 March 1581, the town of Ponte de Lima similarly imposed a harsh sentence on a group of individuals, some from Porto and some from Ponte de Lima, because Porto was at that time dealing with an outbreak of the plague. A number of residents from Ponte de Lima had arranged the escape of a few individuals from Porto, forcing Ponte de Lima officials to place them all in quarantine. The guilty parties were each fined 2,000 réis to cover expenses of the quarantine, and were later banished for thirty days.<sup>33</sup> Only one of the accused was named—Migel. Generally they were referred to as sons of Branca Roiz, even though no evidence was provided that she was involved in the incident. This might be an indication that her sons were minors, or, similar to the case of Fernandes's wife, perhaps Roiz was better known in the community.

It was beneficial for community leaders to take harsh measures against the spread of contagious diseases—the survival of the community de-

pended on it—but questions remain about the lives of the people in quarantine or banished from city limits, and the survival strategies for their families. Ignorance and obstinacy were undoubtedly motivating factors in some people's disregard for government censure against contagion, but economic concerns were unquestionably important as well. While deadly diseases were no laughing matter, the ingenuity with which some individuals circumvented town regulations indicates that economic survival was always at a premium.

Tradespeople and other community members invented creative strategies for mere survival in some cases or to maximize their profits in others, although it is not always easy to separate the two. At most, judicial records name the culprit and offense but rarely the motive. The records also isolate the individual caught with an infraction, but most early modern people worked and lived within a network of family and acquaintances. As with Fernandes's wife and Roiz's sons, an account sometimes hints at connections between the offender and possible accomplices. This type of mutual understanding, and mutual responsibility, emerged especially in situations where spouses were required to vouch for their recalcitrant mates. A good example of this symbiotic relationship was found in connection to the task of collecting municipal taxes.

The collection of taxes was a responsibility usually assigned to male citizens in early modern Portugal. Town council members elected individuals to cover different sectors of the economy. Depending on the size of the community, for example, different tax collectors collected taxes for the wine trade, beef industry, and fish trade. The appointment of tax collectors usually lasted one year, and once elected, officials summoned collectors to the town hall where they pledged to fulfill their duties diligently and honorably. Tax collecting was not a popular post, and appointees were quick to avoid the call to service.

On 12 December 1566, for instance, Joam Pereira of Braga claimed that he could not hold the office of tax collector because he could not read or write. A witness testified that he had seen Pereira read a lease, but the latter replied that he had learned to read that one document only and later forgot that, too. Others refused to appear when summoned by municipal council, forcing officials to ferret the truants out of their homes. Often wives were obliged to explain their husbands' whereabouts, as was the case on 7 January 1567 when Branqua Lopez and another unidentified woman swore that their respective spouses were away on business and would be gone for some time. Officials sought witnesses to confirm that these statements were true.<sup>34</sup> João Pereira de Sampaio was less successful in dodging Coimbra's municipal council in 1592. Even though his wife—name unknown—provided officials with a notarized certificate indicat-

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ing that he was in jail, Coimbra authorities prosecuted him for neglecting his civic duties. It turned out that he had been out of jail for a while but was still using his earlier incarceration as a means to escape the call.<sup>35</sup> It is unlikely that the wife in question was unaware of her role in the deception.

### Single Women and Gendered Regulations

Although a quantitative study remains to be done, preliminary research in Portuguese municipal archives suggests that an approximately equal number of women and men were apt to transgress or push the limits authorities imposed. It is not clear whether women and men responded differently to regulation, but women and men were not always treated equally, nor were all women treated the same. While most municipal ordinances were not necessarily gendered in their stated intent, some applied more directly to women than to men, or vice versa. No woman was found neglecting her duty as tax collector, for example, because that post was rarely open to women. Yet some restrictions affected a certain category of women only. This was especially true of constraints placed on single women, suggesting that they had less status or were less respected by early modern Portuguese society, a situation that was generally true in the rest of Europe as well.<sup>36</sup>

Several examples show Portuguese officials' attempts to curb the activities of unmarried women. For example, in Porto in 1402, town council mandated that all women selling fish, game, fruit, or bread had to be married or be respectable widows.<sup>37</sup> Almost two and one-half centuries later, Porto officials still restricted single women from working as *regateiras*. Although reasons for this restriction were not stipulated, there was concern that the profession of *regateira* exposed women to immoral behavior. One could deduce from this argument that it was permissible to expose married women to immoral behavior, or that married women were the cause of it. But what really troubled authorities was that Porto was experiencing a shortage of female servants because young women preferred the relatively free life of street hawking.<sup>38</sup> It is interesting to note that this 1647 legislation applied to single women only, whereas in 1593 a similar restriction applied to single men as well.<sup>39</sup> One possible explanation for this change is that by the mid-seventeenth century fewer young men were roaming the streets in Portuguese towns, a consequence of overseas expansion and Portugal's struggle for independence from the Spanish monarchy in the Wars of Restoration (1641–1668).

Notwithstanding this reference to single men in the 1593 law, Portuguese officials paid more attention to the curtailment of single women's

options in the early modern period. Single women faced limitations in lodging, for instance, whereas no such limits were placed on men. In Braga, Pero Ferreiro approached the town council on 6 February 1561 to inquire about the town's prohibition against renting rooms to single women in town or the vicinity, and in 1566 town officials noted an exodus of single women. In 1571, the single woman problem still plagued Braga, for on 22 August the council ordered the town crier to announce immediately all over town and vicinity that anyone wanting to rent a dwelling to a single woman had to procure a license from council, or else face a hefty fine. As was the case in Porto, Braga officials were perturbed by girls and unmarried women who refused to serve others, claiming that this led to licentiousness and abandoned children. To maintain order, and since everyone had to work according to God's will, they argued, those not following this decree faced fines of 1,000 *réis*.<sup>40</sup>

Similar concerns were voiced in Ponta Delgada, São Miguel (Azores), in 1635, when the municipal council ordered that any single woman living or talking in a scandalous fashion, giving reason for the neighbors to complain, was not allowed to live on the principal streets of the town, and anyone who would bring forth accusations could have the woman banned from the town altogether. That same year, Ponta Delgada authorities imposed a curfew on single women: any such woman caught outside at night without a proper reason would be fined.<sup>41</sup> It is difficult to gauge the effects such regulations had on work opportunities for single women, or how single women responded to the restrictions, but it is unlikely that the legislation went unchallenged.

That officials were especially troubled with single women, and less so with single men, exposes a gendered job market and a gendered system of regulation. Early modern documents offer few clues for deciphering the possible meanings for the terminology of the period, but it is obvious from references to single women, for instance, that municipal authorities were concerned with more than unmarried women's plight. Municipal governments, largely representative of established hierarchies, sought to control the segment of society that rebelled against what amounted to indentured service. Young women probably were preferable for domestic service because they earned less and were more malleable, while most young men had other and better job opportunities.

Single women were also more problematic for municipalities because, in many cases, the term did not only apply to unmarried women. In early modern Portuguese records, the single woman, or *molher solteira*, was often a euphemism for prostitute, a euphemism found elsewhere in Europe.<sup>42</sup> When Braga's town council arrested Alvarez in 1561 for dealing in bread from the quarantined wife of Fernandes, the record keeper noted that



Alvarez was a single woman—that is, not married. But when Braga's town crier announced in 1571 that no one could rent rooms to single women without a proper license, it was clear that officials were concerned with women's occupation and not with their marital status. Indeed, a summary of Lisbon's trades and professions conducted in 1552 lists five thousand women as *molheres solteiras*.<sup>43</sup> The term *solteira* derives from the root word *solta*, meaning loose, unleashed, free, without shackles, in liberty.<sup>44</sup> Not only was the *molher solteira* suspect, but she also caused public disturbances through her unseemly influence on others. Municipal authorities in Braga attempted to deal with this problem by imposing fines on boys and men found loitering in a certain part of town, talking to girls and other single women. The district in question was the subject of complaints from honorable and married women, who declared that when they passed in that area they overheard lewd conversations.<sup>45</sup>

Given the number of references to disturbances by single women, town officials had difficulty containing that segment of the population. Some young women were attracted to prostitution for a number of reasons. Studies of wages in early modern Portugal are sparse, but one study of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries found that women received significantly lower salaries than men for doing similar work, particularly in urban areas.<sup>46</sup> The situation was not much better in 1602, when a charity organization in Aveiro paid a male laborer a total of 160 to 180 *réis* per day, his lowly male assistant earned 120 *réis* per day, and women received 50 *réis* per day.<sup>47</sup> Although the work each individual did was not stipulated, the substantially lower salary for female workers is more than coincidental. On 21 June 1581, Braga's town council ordered that women day laborers faced fines of 1,000 *réis* if they charged more than 12 *réis* per day plus meals.<sup>48</sup> No such restrictions were imposed on male laborers, and those in place on female wages might have been in response to an increased demand for female laborers—a way to minimize women's potential bargaining power. The records do not stipulate motives for the new law, but in 1581 the Spanish crown was in the midst of consolidating its annexation of Portugal. A fair number of Portuguese young men were recruited for military service, giving women a temporary edge on the job market.

If some women, especially unmarried women, faced greater constraints imposed by municipal governments, they may have experienced some leniency in the distribution of penalties. This could explain the resolution made in Braga on 12 February 1569 stipulating that wax or candle makers had to obtain a license from the municipal council, or otherwise face fines—10 *cruzados* for men and 1,000 *réis* for women.<sup>49</sup> One *cruzado* was roughly equivalent to 400 *réis*, making the discrepancy quite notable. Officials possibly recognized that most women earned significantly less than men.

## Measuring the Success of Survival Strategies

Leniency from authorities was not uncommon in dealings with both women and men. Despite the formal decrees pronounced on a weekly basis, town officials were prone to arrive at informal agreements with would-be offenders. Tradespeople diluting their commercial wine with vinegar, selling fish from their homes instead of at the public market, doing the washing in the public fountain designated for drinking water, selling a variety of merchandise without a license and/or at inflated prices, and not paying their taxes—in short, evading officialdom—quite often received a mere warning.<sup>50</sup> The warning might have been for first offenses only, but the practice shows that authorities were not always excessively authoritarian.

Although the extent of cheating at the retail level was deemed serious and numerous violations were documented, the problem sometimes resembled a cat and mouse game. When some people attempted to bypass regulations by doing their misdeeds outside city limits, authorities were often just a step behind them. In Porto in 1626, for example, the municipal council legislated again that only producers or dairy workers could sell milk. There had been complaints that enterprising women had been meeting the milk carts outside city limits, buying all the milk, adding water to it, and then reselling it in the city at a substantial profit.<sup>51</sup> In Braga, too, concerns were raised on 13 October 1565 that *regateiras* were buying all the haggis—the meat of the poor, it was noted—and reselling it outside the city. The council consequently ordered that no one be allowed to buy or sell more haggis than necessary for personal use, or face a fine of 500 réis. Also in Braga, the council heard in 1574 that vendors of octopus were profiting at the public's expense. Council members found that instead of selling dry octopus at the price set by the council, vendors sold the octopus soaked in water, thus making it much heavier and increasing their profits. The council resolved the problem by setting up separate prices for dry and wet octopus, thus settling the issue of improper weighing procedures, if only temporarily.<sup>52</sup>

Questions of weights and measures were often contentious at the marketplace, largely due to the lack of uniformity in early modern Portugal. Fish, for example, was sold by lot well into the seventeenth century. Some evidence suggests that in 1593 Porto attempted to have fish sales conducted by weight, but in 1622 *regateiras* were still fighting this restriction and won the concession to sell dry fish by lot.<sup>53</sup> In nearby Vila do Conde, officials decreed in 1527 that only fishers, their immediate families, and their servants could sell fish by lot.<sup>54</sup> The sale of fish by lot was restricted because it was believed that the custom allowed *regateiras* too

much profit. Not surprisingly, *regateiras* preferred the system of approximate visual calculations, with their own eyes doing the calculating.

The *regateira do peixe* (fish peddler) was the source of many complaints to town officials, for she was often accused and found guilty of overpricing; mixing various qualities and varieties of fish, including some old and even spoiled fish with a fresh catch; wetting the fish to make it look fresh; estimating the weight instead of using accurate scales; selling fish door to door or outside the specified area in the town market—more or less committing every infraction with which she could get away until she got caught.<sup>55</sup> It was a gamble that must have seemed worthwhile for many, and some even broke the rules despite having been caught in the past. For instance, Maria Loba of Vila do Conde was not unlike Strasbourg's Weyland. On 9 May 1670, Loba was fined 500 *réis* for selling rotten cod to the public. On 21 March she had been fined 200 *réis* for selling cod without a proper license, 300 *réis* for overcharging her customers, and 500 *réis* for using improper weight measures.<sup>56</sup> Loba was either a very successful cod dealer who could afford these numerous fines or a trader whose business sense defies easy explanations.

Women's success rate in their dealings or misdealings with municipal officials is difficult to determine. Record books referred mainly to those who got caught, and few had the means to take on the system as boldly as Rois did. As a wholesale merchant who dealt with substantial capital, Rois was exceptional for her sex and for her time. As was the case with most people in Europe, the majority of Portuguese women and men were traditionally employed in occupations regarded as menial. Portuguese historian Maria Helena da Cruz Coelho has shown in her study of late medieval urban centers that towns were run by men, but only a certain small group of men.<sup>57</sup> Most women and men were involved in petty retail and minor trades, work that was poorly remunerated and provided little leverage on influence and formal power. It is therefore impossible to argue that women were powerless because of numbers, since the international merchants at the apex of the power structure, whatever their sex, were few.

Yet disparities between the sexes should not be underrated since a man in the most menial of jobs still earned significantly more than his female counterpart. But, in spite of the myriad social, economic, legal, and ideological restrictions imposed on various ranks of people in early modern societies, many members of those societies managed to subvert, circumvent, or challenge the constraints around them, and many of them were women. There were hundreds of Lobas to every Rois; it was among the lower ranks where contests usually took place, and municipal records bear witness to this phenomenon. Not only did some women break local laws and regulations, but the lives of the majority of early modern Portu-

guese women also took them beyond the ideologically restricted spheres that certain tracts promulgated.<sup>58</sup> For mere survival, women had to push, were pushed, and then pushed some more. When contemporary writers noticed these women at all, they criticized them for not behaving appropriately—in essence, for not being pleasing ladies.<sup>59</sup> But that is just the point. The majority of the female population of early modern Portugal, and Europe at large, was not ladylike, no matter how this term is defined. They were often obnoxious, insolent, calculating, loud, in-your-face women. This fact helps explain the Portuguese idiom that if inflation is high, blame the *padeira*; or that the market woman who does not cheat has holes in her pockets—that is, an honest market woman will fail in her undertakings. The woman fish peddler would have to cheat to survive, as evidenced by the popular saying that *peixeira que não mente na bolsa o sente* (the woman fish peddler who does not lie will feel it in her purse)—and apparently this practice was generally accepted.<sup>60</sup> No such idioms were found about men, although they, too, dominated certain trades and were not all above reproach. One possible explanation is that female thieves and cheaters were especially resented because of the audacity and autonomy that their subversive acts represented, hardly honorable female qualities.

These idioms also reflect the dilemma that early modern European society faced in relation to proper roles for women. On the one hand, there was an acknowledgement that female laborers were crucial to the operation and success of the urban economy; on the other hand, there was anxiety over women with a trade that granted them a certain sense of independence and empowerment. This apprehension manifested itself in a variety of ways. In sixteenth-century Seville, for instance, some voiced concerns over the many men migrating to the New World, leaving the city “in the hands of women.”<sup>61</sup> In colonial New England, too, women who ran profitable businesses on their own were especially susceptible to accusations of witchcraft.<sup>62</sup> Similarly, historian Judith M. Bennett has found that, although there appears to have been an equal number of female and male brewsters who cheated in fourteenth-century England, cheating brewsters were most often depicted as female.<sup>63</sup> And in Portugal, even the French consul lodged a complaint in the late seventeenth century against five women who monopolized the sale of bread in Lisbon’s marketplace.<sup>64</sup>

Women of the laboring classes had ample opportunity, and often the necessity, to challenge, ignore, or circumvent officials, and many of them did. Survival strategies sometimes involved breaking the law. This could include dealing with products in the black market, from wine and cod to sugar and tobacco. Others profited by working with the law, including



those who collected rewards for reporting on contraband operations.<sup>65</sup> Still others benefited from financial dealings with local governments. For example, on 25 October 1581, Maria António received 2,000 réis from Braga's town council to which she had made a loan. The following month Felipa Jacome paid back 10 *cruzados* she had borrowed from the council.<sup>66</sup>

Survival strategies involved various legal infractions. This was seen with the Rois case, but other less dramatic incidents occasionally occurred. In Coimbra in 1635, for instance, two tax collectors faced jail time for a confrontation at the local market where, during a dispute, the zealous tax collectors grabbed the towels wrapped around the women's heads and footwear.<sup>67</sup> Authorities commonly suspected market women of hoarding food or hiding some of their produce to sell outside city limits where a greater profit could be made. Some were certainly not above tucking a few items under their headgear or under their skirts, but on this occasion they were vindicated.

If municipal officials were often just one step behind the cheaters, frequently the cheaters were one step ahead. Judging by the sheer number of infractions registered in municipal records, serious doubts arise about the efficacy of local governments to police early modern Portuguese society; judging by the number of women apprehended and penalized for breaking town regulations, women were at the forefront of the local economy—a position they maintained with all the cunning and unmitigated vigor they could muster. While it is important not to romanticize the hard life of early modern laboring women, nor the outlaws among them, credit can be given to some tactics that enhanced their chances of survival. Few women were applauded for questioning authority, but many did not hesitate to do so, regardless of consequences.

## NOTES

<sup>1</sup>Rois was an abbreviation for Rodrigues in the early modern period. In the court documents and port records, she is variably referred to as Rois, Roiz, and Ruiz, often with the added nickname, *a cabrita* (she-goat). There was little consistency in spelling standards in early modern Portugal, and historians disagree about how to deal with spelling variations. In this article, the original spelling, as found in the documents, has been maintained.

<sup>2</sup>The quintal was a common measuring unit in early modern Europe, and a Portuguese quintal was the equivalent of approximately 128 pounds. Grim's cargo of cod weighed approximately 121,000 pounds, and the portion Rois handled was about 13,000 pounds.

<sup>3</sup>*Alfândega do Porto*, Núcleo Antigo, no. 110, fols. 285–89, Arquivo Nacional da Torre do Tombo, Lisbon (hereafter ANTT). I am indebted to Amélia Polónia da Silva for bringing this document to my attention.

<sup>4</sup>*Livro do Rendimento da Redízima . . . 1648*, Cabido no. 124, fol. 144v, Arquivo Distrital do Porto, Portugal (hereafter ADP).

<sup>5</sup>*Livro do Rendimento da Redízima . . . 1658*, Cabido no. 142, fol. 140, ADP. The other entire cargo that arrived for Rois was a shipment of sardines. *Livro do Rendimento da Redízima . . . 1679*, Cabido no. 163, fol. 108, ADP. For a more elaborate discussion of the Portuguese monetary system in the early modern period, see Frédéric Mauro, *Le Portugal et l'Atlantique au XVIIe siècle (1570–1670): Etude économique* (Paris: SEVPEN, 1960), 395–432. See also John J. McCusker, *Money and Exchange in Europe and America, 1600–1775: A Handbook* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1978), 107–13.

<sup>6</sup>At a time when food shortage was an almost constant threat, municipal governments took measures to ensure that citizens were amply provisioned. For instance, Vila do Conde occasionally allowed merchants to export grain, but only in return for a guaranteed amount set aside for local consumption. Manuel A. Reis Laranja, "Vila do Conde no Século XVI," parts 1 and 2, *Boletim Cultural da Câmara Municipal de Vila do Conde*, no. 12 (December 1993): 5–15; no. 13 (June 1994): 5–24.

<sup>7</sup>See, for example, Merry E. Wiesner, *Working Women in Renaissance Germany* (New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press, 1986); and Régine Pernoud, *La femme au temps des cathédrales* (Paris: Editions Stock, 1982).

<sup>8</sup>Among the most noteworthy, see Francisco Ribeiro da Silva, *O Porto e o seu Termo (1580–1640): Os Homens, as Instituições e o Poder*, 2 vols. (Porto, Portugal: Câmara Municipal do Porto, 1988); and António de Oliveira, *A Vida Económica e Social de Coimbra de 1537 a 1640*, 2 vols. (Coimbra, Portugal: Universidade de Coimbra, 1971).

<sup>9</sup>A. H. de Oliveira Marques, *História de Portugal*, 8th ed., vol. 1 (Lisbon: Palas Editores, 1978), 371–72.

<sup>10</sup>Akten der XV, 1574, fol. 136v, Archives Municipal, Strasbourg, France, cited in Merry E. Wiesner, "Spinning Out Capital: Women's Work in Preindustrial Europe, 1350–1750," in *Becoming Visible: Women in European History*, 3d ed., ed. Renate Bridenthal, Susan Mosher Stuard, and Merry E. Wiesner (New York: Houghton Mifflin, 1998), 203–31, quotation on 219.

<sup>11</sup>See, for example, António Ribeiro Chiado, *Auto das Regateiras*, ed. Giulia Lanciani ([1565?]; reprint, Rome: Edizione dell'Ateneo, 1970); and *Auto das Regateiras de Lisboa: Composto por hum frade loyo filho de hua dellas*, 3d ed., ed. Silveira Bueno ([1600?]; reprint, São Paulo: Edição Saraiva, 1969). See also Irisalva Moita, "A Imagem e a Vida da Cidade," in *Lisboa Quinhentista: A Imagem e a Vida da Cidade* (Lisbon: Câmara Municipal de Lisboa, 1984), 9–22. The term *regateira* is similar to what historian Alice Clark referred to as "regrateresses" (a rarely used English term), female peddlers and hawkers, dealing primarily in foodstuffs, most of whom earned but a bare subsistence. Alice Clark, *Working Life of Women in the Seventeenth Century* (London: George Routledge & Sons, 1919), 197, 206–9.

<sup>12</sup>*Michaelis Illustrated Dictionary, Portuguese-English*, new ed., s.v. *regateira*.

<sup>13</sup>Iria Gonçalves, *As Finanças Municipais do Porto na Segunda Metade do Século XV* (Porto, Portugal: Câmara Municipal do Porto, 1987), 47 n. 131.

<sup>14</sup>Aurélio de Oliveira, "A Mulher no Tecido Urbano dos Séculos XVII–XVIII," in *A Mulher na Sociedade Portuguesa: Visão Histórica e Perspectivas Actuais. Actas do Colóquio* (Coimbra, Portugal: Universidade de Coimbra, 1986), 1:309–33.

<sup>15</sup>Guilhermina Mota, "O Trabalho Feminino e o Comércio em Coimbra (Sécs. XVII e XVIII)," in *ibid.*, 1:351–67.

<sup>16</sup>Maria Helena da Cruz Coelho, *Homens, Espaços, e Poderes (Séculos XI–XVI)* (Lisbon: Livros Horizonte, 1990), 38–39.

<sup>17</sup>María Asenjo Gonzalez, "Participación de las Mujeres en las Compañías Comerciales Castellanas a Fines de la Edad Media: Los Mercaderes Segovianos," in *El Trabajo de las Mujeres en la Edad Media Hispana*, ed. Angela Muñoz Fernández and Cristina Segura Graiño (Madrid: Asociación Cultural AL-MUDAYNA, 1988), 223–34; Antonio Domínguez Ortiz, "La Mujer en el Tránsito de la Edad Media a la Moderna," in *Las mujeres en las ciudades medievales: Actas de las III Jornadas de Investigación Interdisciplinaria* (Madrid: Universidad Autónoma de Madrid, 1984), 171–79; and Montserrat Carbonell Esteller, "Hecho y Representación sobre la Desvalorización del Trabajo de las Mujeres (siglos XVI–XVIII)," in *Mujeres y hombres en la formación del Pensamiento Occidental: Actas de las VII Jornadas de Investigación Interdisciplinaria*, ed. Virginia Maquieira d'Angelo (Madrid: Universidad Autónoma de Madrid, 1989), 157–71.

<sup>18</sup>More recent work has looked at some of these questions. See, for example, Marta V. Vicente, "Images and Realities of Work: Women and Guilds in Early Modern Barcelona," in *Spanish Women in the Golden Age: Images and Realities*, ed. Magdalena S. Sánchez and Alain Saint-Saëns (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1996), 127–39.

<sup>19</sup>Merry E. Wiesner, "Nuns, Wives, and Mothers: Women and the Reformation in Germany," in *Readings from the Ancient World to the Seventeenth Century*, 2d ed., ed. Richard M. Golden (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1992), 2:243–62, esp. 260.

<sup>20</sup>Cruz Coelho, *Homens, Espaços, e Poderes*, 46–47.

<sup>21</sup>Ovídio de Sousa Vieira, "Ponte de Lima nas Vereações Antigas," *Arquivo de Ponte de Lima* 7 (1986): 7–33, esp. 9–10. Similar findings have been reported for Coimbra. See Oliveira, *Vida Económica*, 1:337.

<sup>22</sup>Maria Odila Silva Dias, *Power and Everyday Life: The Lives of Working Women in Nineteenth-Century Brazil*, trans. Ann Frost (New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press, 1995), 36–39.

<sup>23</sup>Cruz Coelho, *Homens, Espaços, e Poderes*, 46–47. All translations are by author.

<sup>24</sup>*Livro dos Acordos da Câmara desta vila de Aveiro do ano de 1580*, fols. 14–18v, transcribed in Francisco Ferreira Neves, *O Livro dos Acordos da Câmara de Aveiro de*

1580: *Factos Históricos* (Coimbra, Portugal: Câmara Municipal de Aveiro, 1971), 54–58.

<sup>25</sup>Sousa Vieira, "Ponte de Lima," 1986, 8–9.

<sup>26</sup>Câmara Municipal de Braga, "Acordos e Vreações da Câmara de Braga no Senhorio de Frei Bartolomeu dos Mártires, 1568," *Bracara Augusta* 36, nos. 81–82 (1982): 545–601, esp. 556.

<sup>27</sup>João Brandão (de Buarcos), "Majestade e grandezas de Lisboa em 1552," *Arquivo Histórico Português* 11 (1919): 9–241, esp. 58.

<sup>28</sup>The length of Fernandes's wife's incarceration was not noted in the records. Câmara Municipal de Braga, "Acordos e Vreações da Câmara de Braga no Episcopado de D. Frei Bartolomeu dos Mártires, 1561," *Bracara Augusta* 25/26, nos. 59–62 (1971/1972): 418–70, esp. 438–39. There is some variation in the spelling of names in this record. Joam Fernandes is at one point referred to as Jean ffernandes, Alvarez is also spelled Alvares, and Ana Afonso is once called Ines Afonso.

<sup>29</sup>For an overview of the trend of omitting women's names in early modern European records, see Merry E. Wiesner, *Women and Gender in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), esp. chap. 3. For a regional example from England, see Mary Prior, "Women and the Urban Economy: Oxford, 1500–1800," in *Women in English Society, 1500–1800*, ed. Mary Prior (London: Methuen, 1985), 93–117.

<sup>30</sup>Cruz Coelho, *Homens, Espaços, e Poderes*, 46.

<sup>31</sup>Translations for these terms are not provided in the text, because although they literally mean the door of Sousa or Souto and floors or grounds, their contextual meaning is unclear.

<sup>32</sup>Câmara Municipal de Braga, "Acordos e Vreações da Câmara de Braga no Episcopado de D. Frei Bartolomeu dos Mártires [1559/82], Liv. 1565/66," *Bracara Augusta* 31, nos. 71–72 (1977): 435–81, esp. 473.

<sup>33</sup>João Gomes d'Abreu, "Ponte de Lima nas Vereações Antigas," *Arquivo de Ponte de Lima* 2 (1981): 3–81, esp. 10.

<sup>34</sup>Câmara Municipal de Braga, "Acordos e Vreações da Câmara de Braga no Episcopado de D. Frei Bartolomeu dos Mártires, 1566–1567," *Bracara Augusta* 32, nos. 73–74 (1978): 415–75, esp. 437–38, 449. The document referring to Pereira also listed him as Joam Ferreira.

<sup>35</sup>Oliveira, *Vida Económica*, 1:331.

<sup>36</sup>For restrictions placed on single women in craft guild membership, see Judith M. Bennett, "Medieval Women, Modern Women: Across the Great Divide," in *Culture and History, 1350–1600: Essays on English Communities, Identities, and Writing*, ed. David Aers (New York: Harvester Wheatsheaf, 1992), 147–75. For a more general examination of single women, see Olwen Hufton, *The Prospect before*



*Her: A History of Women in Western Europe, 1500–1800* (London: Harper Collins, 1995), esp. chap. 7.

<sup>37</sup>J. A. Pinto Ferreira, ed., *Documentos e Memórias para a História do Porto, "Vereações," Anos de 1401–1449* (Porto, Portugal: Câmara Municipal do Porto, 1980), 144.

<sup>38</sup>*Livro das Vereações*, no. 51 (1647–1648), fol. 132v, Arquivo Histórico Municipal do Porto, Portugal (hereafter AHMP).

<sup>39</sup>*Livro das Vereações*, no. 31 (1593), fol. 253, AHMP, cited in Ribeiro da Silva, *O Porto e o seu Termo*, 1:226.

<sup>40</sup>There was also a call for greater vigilance of women suspected of abandoning their children. Câmara Municipal de Braga, "Acordos e Vereações . . . 1561," 438, Câmara Municipal de Braga, "Acordos e Vereações . . . 1565/66," 438–39, Câmara Municipal de Braga, "Acordos e Vereações . . . 1566–1567," 543–44, and Câmara Municipal de Braga, "Livros do Registo/Livro das Vereações," *Boletim do Arquivo Municipal*, 1 (1935–1949): 15–169, esp. 136–37.

<sup>41</sup>Ernesto Canto, *Arquivo dos Açores*, vol. 14 (1927; reprint, Ponta Delgada, Azores: Instituto Universitário dos Açores, 1983), 139, 175–77.

<sup>42</sup>Ruth Mazo Karras, "The Regulation of Brothels in Later Medieval England," *Signs* 14, no. 2 (1989): 399–433, esp. 425.

<sup>43</sup>Brandão, "Majestade e grandezas," 234.

<sup>44</sup>*Michaelis Illustrated Dictionary, Portuguese-English*, new ed., s.v. *solta*.

<sup>45</sup>Câmara Municipal de Braga, "Livros do Registo," 137.

<sup>46</sup>Cruz Coelho, *Homens, Espaços, e Poderes*, 47.

<sup>47</sup>*Feria de Despesas (June 1602–June 1603)*, fols. 30–38v, 41–47v, Arquivo da Santa Casa de Misericórdia de Aveiro, Portugal.

<sup>48</sup>Câmara Municipal de Braga, "Acordos e Vereações da Câmara de Braga nos dois últimos anos do Senhorio de D. Frei Bartolomeu dos Mártires (1580/1582)," *Bracara Augusta* 24, nos. 55–58 (1970): 284–435, esp. 377.

<sup>49</sup>Câmara Municipal de Braga, "Acordos e Vereações . . . 1568," 559.

<sup>50</sup>See, for example, Câmara Municipal de Braga, "Acordos e Vereações . . . 1580/1582," 343, 405–6, and Câmara Municipal de Braga, "Acordos e Vereações . . . 1565/66," 472.

<sup>51</sup>*Livro das Vereações*, no. 41, fol. 238v, AHMP, cited in Ribeiro da Silva, *O Porto e o seu Termo*, 2:707.

<sup>52</sup>Câmara Municipal de Braga, "Acordos e Vereações . . . 1565/66," 761, for the reference on the haggis, and Câmara Municipal de Braga, "Arquivo Municipal," *Bracara Augusta* 43, nos. 94/95 (1991/1992): 467–503, esp. 478–79, for the reference on the octopus.

<sup>53</sup>*Livro 5 de Sentenças*, fols. 476–78, AHMP, cited in Ribeiro da Silva, *O Porto e o seu Termo*, 1:230, 2:752.

<sup>54</sup>Reis Laranja, "Vila do Conde," pt. 1, 10.

<sup>55</sup>Cruz Coelho, *Homens, Espaços, e Poderes*, 41.

<sup>56</sup>*Livro das Correições, 1670–1671*, no. 2499, fols. 16v–17, 25v, Arquivo Histórico da Câmara Municipal de Vila do Conde, Portugal.

<sup>57</sup>Cruz Coelho, *Homens, Espaços, e Poderes*, 38–39, 49–50.

<sup>58</sup>Among the most renowned, see João de Barros, *Espelho de Casados*, ed. Tido de Noronha and António Cabral (1540; reprint, Porto, Portugal: Imprensa Portuguesa, 1874); and Cristovão Rodrigues de Oliveira, *Sumário em que Brevemente se Contêm Algumas Cousas (Assim Eclesiásticas como Seculares) que há na Cidade de Lisboa* ([1555?]; reprint, Lisbon: Eds. Biblion, 1938).

<sup>59</sup>For a discussion of some sixteenth-century Portuguese dramas and their treatment of women, see Moita, "Imagem e a Vida da Cidade."

<sup>60</sup>Cruz Coelho, *Homens, Espaços, e Poderes*, 41–46.

<sup>61</sup>Andres Navagero, *Viaje a España*, trans. José María Alonso Gamo (1525; reprint, Valencia, Spain: Editorial Castalia, 1951), 7, cited in Mary Elizabeth Perry, *Gender and Disorder in Early Modern Seville* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1990), 14.

<sup>62</sup>Carol F. Karlsen, *The Devil in the Shape of a Woman: Witchcraft in Colonial New England* (New York: W.W. Norton, 1987), 145–47, 160–61.

<sup>63</sup>Judith M. Bennett, *Ale, Beer, and Brewsters in England: Women's Work in a Changing World, 1300–1600* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996), 138.

<sup>64</sup>It is unclear what success complainants achieved against the enterprising women. Carl A. Hanson, *Economy and Society in Baroque Portugal, 1668–1703* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1981), 59 n. 89. See also Jean-François Labourdette, *La nation française à Lisbonne de 1669 à 1790* (Paris: Fondation Calouste Gulbenkian, 1988), 32.

<sup>65</sup>See, for example, Ovídio de Sousa Vieira and João Gomes d'Abreu, "Ponte de Lima nas Vereações Antigas," *Arquivo de Ponte de Lima* 4 (1983): 5–37, esp. 28; *Livro do Rendimento da Redízima . . . 1654*, Cabido no. 134, fol. 185v, and *Livro do Rendimento da Redízima . . . 1655*, Cabido no. 135, fol. 186, both in ADP.

<sup>66</sup>Câmara Municipal de Braga, "Acordos e Vereações . . . 1580/1582," 400–401.

<sup>67</sup>Oliveira, *Vida Económica*, 1:319.

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